

A STUDY OF ANTI-SEMITISM
IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES
POST WORLD WAR II

THESIS

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Dedication

This piece of work is dedicated to my wonderful friend:

Donnie

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This work would not have been possible without the help of some very important people in my life. They graciously gave their time, energy, knowledge and never-ending patience. First of all, I wish to thank my wonderful chair and committee members, Dr. Ramona Ford, Dr. Don Matlock and Dr. Wade Wheeler. I truly appreciate everything that you have done for me, even when I was about to give up.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION THE PROJECT AND ITS SUBJECT MATTER

This thesis project will lead to an understanding of the conditions and motivation that surrounds anti-Semitism in Europe as well as in the United States after World War II. I will show how religion, economic conditions and political climate affect anti-Semitism. Religious anti-Semitism is deeply rooted in people's church dogmas. It feeds the belief that the Jews are responsible for Jesus' death, and must therefore be blamed as the "damned" people until the end of time. Secular anti-Semitism on the other hand is based on non-religious factors such as the economic conditions, as well as the political climate of a society. It is a "non-faith" driven prejudice toward the Jews. Being bi-lingual enabled me to look at sources in both the English and German language. First, let me list some general information on the subject that I believe will be helpful to the reader.

- I. Characteristics of anti-Semitic beliefs:
 - A. Jews are different and alien in faith, physiognomy, and psychology.
 - B. Jews are power-hungry, materialistic, aggressive, dishonest, clannish, and other negative stereotypes.
 - C. Fear Jews based on their alienness and stereotypes.

- D. Jews should be shunned, spoken ill of, subjected to social discrimination, and denied social and legal rights because they are different, alien, and malevolent.

II. History of anti-Semitism in the United States

A. Before 1880:

1. In colonial times and the early history of the U.S., other religious minorities such as Catholics and non-majority Protestant sects, i.e. Quakers, were more hated than the Jews.
2. Anti-Semitism was limited by the number of Jews in the country: about 3,000 in 1790.
3. Anti-Semitism was generally limited to personal encounters such as harassment of vendors or immigrant Jews.
4. As Jews began to prosper in society, established groups sought to restrict the ability of Jews to enter the highest echelons of society because Jews were seen as undesirable.

B. 1880-1940

1. Anti-Semitism increased greatly for a variety of reasons:
 - a) An influx of Jewish immigrants, many from Eastern Europe, created more ill feelings toward them. From 1880-1917, the Jewish population increased by almost sixteen times, to 3.9 million.
 - b) A change from a rural, agricultural economy to an urban, industrial economy had negative repercussions for many farmers and rural dwellers who found an enemy in Jews rumored to be behind an international financial conspiracy.
 - c) Popular figures like Henry Ford spread anti-Jewish literature like The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.
 - d) The revived Ku Klux Klan helped to elect politicians to further their anti-Semitic, white power agenda.
 - e) The collapse of the stock market and the resulting Depression were blamed on the Jews.

C. 1940-1970

1. Anti-Semitism became less popular as Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal ushered in a more liberal ideology in America.
2. Revelations of Holocaust atrocities led to sympathy toward the Jewish people.

3. The Civil Rights Movement attempted to decrease intolerance in the country.

D. 1970-present

1. A resurgence has been seen in anti-Semitism with the revival of white supremacy and white separatism
2. Groups like Aryan Nation and the National Alliance continue to portray Jews as an impure race corrupting the U.S.
3. The Nation of Islam, led by Louis Farrakhan, has taken an anti-Semitic stance to college campuses and helped to increase anti-Semitism in the black community.

Anti-Semitism is an ongoing phenomenon which has assumed different forms throughout history: from the anti-Semitism of the Christian church, which first molded the image of the Jew as somebody who is inferior by divine edict and requires humiliation, to secular race-based anti-Semitism, with its ostensibly rationalist-scientific slant. The link between the theory of humiliation (Christian) and the Nazi death camps lies therefore in the very presentation of the Jew as the representative of Evil, a presentation which has played an extremely important role in the perception of the Jew as a negative phenomenon (Bachrach, 1979). Thus in the view of historians such as Ettinger (1978), no distinction should be made between the hatred of Jews as expressed in the past –whether the form grounded in Christianity, or the racial anti-Semitism which reached its climax in Nazi Germany ---and anti-Zionist or anti-Israeli expressions occurring nowadays, for example in

Germany (Wolffsohn, 1995), the Soviet Union, and elsewhere. Every form of anti-Semitism is therefore basically an expression of a hostile attitude (hatred) vis-à-vis Jews, accompanied by ideas and ideologies justifying this hostility.

Halpern (1979) defines anti-Semitism as a faceted multi-variable concept as follows: “Anti-Semitism is a hostile attitude towards the Jews (regarded as a threat) that develops into a tradition and becomes institutionalized.”

This definition takes account of the three basic factors needed for an understanding of the phenomenon of anti-Semitism (Ettinger, 1978): the initial negative attitude toward Jews, who are perceived as a threat to the majority society; the justification and rationalization of this perception (Christian or racist foundations, and so on); and the exploitation of this justification and reasoning for political and social purposes, in different periods and different societies. In fact, anti-Semitism has never ceased to be a significant factor in various countries in political, social and cultural spheres. The phenomenon assumes a range of forms, with various sets of reasons being advanced in different countries.

As this is a study of anti-Semitism post World War II, I set out to look at socio-political processes that have taken place throughout the world since (after the 1950's), particularly in Europe and the United States, with potential implications for the resurgence of anti-Semitism. The rise of the extreme Right and neo-Nazi groups in the United States and Europe is also of interest.

Chapter II

WHAT IS ANTI-SEMITISM?

"The Jews are of as much use to a country as the mice to a granary and the moths to clothes. (German proverb)"

"If the Jew can have the rope free of charge, he will let himself be hanged. (Russian proverb)"

"Two cheeses and one Jew make three smells. (Polish proverb)"
(Roback, 1979, p. 193, 186, 192)

These folk sayings display an attitude toward the Jewish people that was prevalent among many Europeans who held an extremely negative and hostile view of the Jews in their midst. Many of these beliefs traveled to the New World as Europeans migrated to the United States. While anti-Semitism has been much less conspicuous in the United States than in Europe, Jews have faced discrimination and violence from a variety of sources. By examining the nature of anti-Semitism, the history of anti-Semitism in this country, and some of the groups, which are currently spreading an anti-Jewish message, one can gain a clearer understanding of how this minority has been treated in the United States.

The term anti-Semitism originated with Wilhelm Marr, a German writer and politician, in 1879. (The term is sometimes spelled "antisemitism." An entirely separate area of debate surrounds the usage of this word; however, this paper will not delve into that issue.) This replaced the more common expression "Jew-hatred" which had become obsolete and socially unacceptable. Marr intended the new term to sound as though it came from the social sciences, which might give it a ring of respectability. That the word "Semite" can refer to a variety of peoples originating in southwest Asia did not prevent Marr's readers from understanding his meaning.

More important than the origins of the word are the characteristics of its practitioners. David Gerber offers this definition of anti-Semitism:

1. The belief that Jews are different and alien, not simply in creed or faith, but in physiognomy and even more importantly in an inner nature or psychology;
2. the tendency to think of Jews in terms of negative imagery and beliefs which lead one to see them as power-hungry, materialistic, aggressive, dishonest, or clannish;
3. the fear and dislike of Jews based on their presumed alienness and on the understanding that these negative traits are not simply a response to past victimization or discrimination but rather a product of malevolence toward others, especially non-Jews;
4. the willingness to shun Jews, speak ill of them, subject them to social discrimination, or deny them social and legal rights afforded to society's non-Jews on the basis of a belief that Jews must be treated differently because they are different, alien, and malevolent. (Gerber, 1986, p. 3)

This definition is useful because it covers many of the arguments that have traditionally been used against the Jews such as that the Jews are conspiring to gain power, the Jews are ugly, and that the Jews are outsiders. These beliefs were common among many Europeans and were often institutionalized to discriminate against the Jewish population.

Anti-Semitism can focus on the Jews as either a religious or an ethnic minority, but most anti-Semitic groups do not seem to feel the need to define their stance and are as likely to point out negative attributes of the Jews as a people as they are to take a stance against Judaism as a religion. The choice seems to be based primarily on the argument being supported at the time (Gerber, 1986).

In the early years of the United States, with only about 3,000 Jews living in the country by 1790, anti-Semitism was limited by the number of Jews available to hate. (Gerber, 1986, p. 14) Also, the Jews found that they were one among many minorities despised by the Protestant majorities who founded the colonies. The variety of groups considered undesirable served as a shield to protect the Jews from being the brunt of an undue amount of derision. As Jack Wertheimer points out, "From the outset of the American Jewish experience, then, an important pattern of group relations was set: Jews often encountered discrimination and... verbal abuse, but they rarely suffered as grievously as other groups." (Wertheimer, 1995, p. 35) Other religious minorities such as Catholics, who were viewed with distrust because of their perceived loyalty to the Pope, and minority Protestant groups such as Quakers, who were

especially distasteful to the majority, often served to deflect attention from other groups like the Jews who had traditionally suffered discrimination in Europe.

The guarantee of religious freedom provided in the Bill of Rights further served to protect the Jews and other religious minorities from both institutional and personal attacks. The Constitutional separation of church and state ensured that "prejudice and discrimination against Jews would remain random, informal, and unfixed in the private sphere and would be seen as an assault on the official values of the nation." (Gerber, 1986, p. 16) This is not to say that no official discrimination has existed. Housing, for example, was closed to many Jews through restrictive covenants, which were not declared unconstitutional until the 1940s. Universities had quotas on the number of Jews that could be admitted, and some employers would not hire Jews.

While institutionalized discrimination was never as prevalent in the United States as in Europe, the traditional negative stereotypes of the Jews had come to the New World with the Europeans. Negative religious and social stereotypes and images were quite common in the daily relations of Jews as well as in the portrayal of Jews in literature and on the stage. In the early 1800s, the classic image of the Jew as greedy, materialistic, untrustworthy in business relations, and anti-Christian was still very common; however, discrimination was rarely systematic and was mostly along the lines of harassment of peddlers and new immigrants.

As Jews became more prosperous in the middle of the nineteenth century and sought to become more upwardly mobile, they found that the established Gentiles considered the Jews to be socially unacceptable intruders who had money but not class. The attempt by the Jews to integrate themselves into the upper echelons of American society led to resentment on the part of many of the elite leading to actions which attempted to bar Jews from boards governing museums, symphonies, and educational institutions which were the place for only the finest in society (Gerber, 1986).

While anti-Jewish acts occurred in the early years of the United States, many historians argue that ordinary, populist anti-Semitism did not begin until the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Two major factors seem to have led to this popular dislike of the Jews. One was a massive influx of Jewish immigrants between 1880 and 1917. By 1917, when new laws were enacted to curb immigration, 3.9 million Jews lived in the country, almost sixteen times the number in 1880. (Gerber, 1986, p. 24) Many of these were poor immigrants from eastern Europe who tended to live in urban slums and be less modern in their habits than the western European Jews who had already established themselves.

The second major factor was the movement of the American economy from agricultural to industrial. As urban centers grew to dominate the nation, farmers looked for someone to blame for the changes sweeping the nation and wreaking havoc on their lifestyles. The

enemy was presented as a mysterious group of Jews living in Europe who were manipulating the world economy for their own gain. In his novel, Caesar's Column, Ignatius Donnelly described how "an oligarchy consisting mainly of Jews 'wreak their cruel revenge on Christians for the ancient sufferings inflicted by their bigoted and ignorant ancestors upon a noble race.'" (Wertheimer, 1995, p. 41) Ideas like this, expressed in many American publications, reinforced the old stereotypes of the evil Jew while adding the new image of international financial conspirator. Many rural dwellers were quick to embrace the idea of the Jew as a scheming parasite getting rich off the sweat of the upstanding American. Accepting this idea was much easier than attaining an understanding of the modern capitalist market conditions and political forces rising from the new industrial, urban-based economy.

One of the most popular anti-Semitic documents of all time also surfaced during this period to confirm the diabolical nature of the Jewish people. The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion was reported to be an account of a secret Jewish meeting overheard in a cemetery. The document revealed that a handful of Jews control all the important events in the world. While it was later proved to be a fabrication of the tsarist secret police, the "Protocols" would provide ample evidence of conspiracy for those already convinced that the Jews were scheming to obtain power and control. Industrialist Henry Ford would serialize the anti-Semitic tract in the Dearborn Independent under the title "The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem." Half a million copies

were put into print in the United States through Ford. (Levitas, 1995, p. 176) The anti-Semitic movement obtained a much more legitimate image when well-known figures like Ford and aviator Charles Lindbergh were offering support.

The recently reestablished Ku Klux Klan also reprinted its own edition of the Dearborn Independent articles. The Klan, which had formally disbanded in 1879 after its initial reign of terror from 1865 to 1872, was resurrected in 1915 under the slogan "100 percent Americanism." While white supremacy was still the primary objective of the white-sheeted warriors, hatred of Jews and Catholics was added to the agenda, in part inspired by the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish pencil factory owner in Marietta, Georgia. After being convicted on biased and inconclusive evidence of the rape and murder of fourteen-year-old Mary Phagan, Frank was abducted from a prison farm and lynched by a mob called the Knights of Mary Phagan. This event was a major catalyst in the reformation of America's most well-known hate group. Also in 1915 D.W. Griffith's film "Birth of a Nation" came out. Its message was how the Klan had saved the South from blacks – who were portrayed as some lower form of animal. Millions of people saw this film. The early 1920's were the height of the Klan – with five to nine million members (Ford, 2000)

The rising anti-Semitic sentiment in the United States had led to the formation of the Immigration Restriction League in 1894. Their work, with the added voices of the Ku Klux Klan, who had elected numerous

governors, U.S. senators, and congressmen, finally led to the passage of the Immigration Acts of 1921-1924. The Immigration Acts would later prove to be a hindrance to Jews seeking entrance into the United States to escape the Nazis in Europe. This act was not aimed solely at Jews, but at all races who could pollute the majority. Robert Singerman points out that "at the deepest level, what impelled the restriction movement in the early decades of the twentieth century was the discovery that immigration was undermining the unity of American culture and threatening the accustomed dominance of a white Protestant people of northern European descent." (Singerman, 1996, p. 119) The Jews, while certainly an object of hatred for many groups and individuals, continued to be one of many groups, particularly eastern and southern Europeans, who were bringing about the destruction of the American way of life.

When the stock market crashed in 1929 leading to the Great Depression, groups which had already seen the international financial conspiracy being carried out by the Jews were quick to point to the Jews as the source of the country's greatest dilemma to date. Gerald L.K. Smith was one of the most fervent anti-Semites of this period. Smith, who had become prominent in Louisiana politics working with Huey Long, became fanatical in his crusade against the Jews after he experienced "two 'visions' which revealed to him the 'iniquity' of the organized Jew" and which inspired his mission "to save my Christian

America from the invasion of the enemies of Christ." (Jeansonne, 1986, p. 155)

The Jewish people, however, were not idly standing by as all of this hatred was being spread. The American Jewish Committee (AJC), formed in 1906, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), formed in 1913, were able to blunt the effect of much of Smith's preaching. While his speeches had initially been met with massive protests, the publicity generated by these events only helped to make Smith into a martyr and increase the popularity of his message. By devising a strategy in 1946 which consisted of denying Smith the publicity which helped fuel his cause, Rabbi S.A. Fineberg of the AJC removed the rabid anti-Semite from the public spotlight with the help of the press and by convincing Smith's opponents not to demonstrate against him, making him less newsworthy. Smith's support dropped noticeably, and while he remained adamant about his anti-Semitic beliefs until his death in 1976, Smith would never regain the notoriety he enjoyed in the 1930s and 1940s.

Anti-Semitism also began a general decline in the 1930's and 1940's due to two major factors. The first was the move toward a more liberal society under President Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal programs. While anti-Semitic groups such as the Silver Shirts, the National Union for Social Justice, the German American Bund, the Christian Front, and the Defenders of the Christian Faith linked Roosevelt, the New Deal, the Depression, and international crises and

threats of war to international Jewish conspiracies, the general public was undergoing an increasingly anti-Nazi shift in opinion. Mark Silk points out that "'Christian' has historically been a code word for 'anti-Jew' on the extremist right" (Silk, 1995, p. 301).

The other major factor in the decline of anti-Semitism was the revelations of the Holocaust atrocities committed against the Jews of Europe. In the period following World War II, anti-Jewish sentiment became not only unpopular but also socially unacceptable. While 64 percent of respondents to a survey indicated that they had heard criticism or talk against Jews in the last six months in 1946, only 24 percent did so in 1950, and by the end of the 1950s, that figure had been halved. (Wertheimer, 1995, p. 50)

During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, anti-Jewish sentiment surfaced occasionally and often violently, such as when synagogues were bombed in the South, but for the most part, anti-Semitism had become a minor concern for many Jewish organizations who were turning their attention to the plight of Jews abroad.

Nonetheless, the late 1970s and early 1980s saw a resurgence of anti-Semitism. If the first three decades of this century were the golden age of anti-Semitism in the United States, then the last three may prove to be the second coming of the anti-Semitic movement. An increase in black nationalism and a revival of the white supremacist movement have caused the Jews to once again be targets of hatred.

One source is the Nation of Islam, a black nationalist movement led by Louis Farrakhan. Farrakhan "has called Judaism 'a gutter religion,' Israel 'an outlaw state,' and Hitler 'a very great man.'" (Henry, 1994, p. 21) Farrakhan and his ministers portray the Jews as exploiters of blacks. "The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews," a pamphlet circulated by the Nation of Islam, outlines a Jewish conspiracy in which Jews crucified Jesus, dispossessed the Palestinians, exploited the Germans, took control of the Federal Reserve and the White House, and persecuted blacks. The pamphlet claims that Jews participated in the civil rights movement to exploit blacks, created the stereotype of blacks in Hollywood, and supported apartheid. While some in the past have stressed the common bond between blacks and Jews through a shared history of suffering, the Nation of Islam has fostered the image of the Jew as a victimizer of blacks.

Recent surveys show that nearly one in four blacks under thirty are unfavorably disposed toward Jews. (Rose, 1994, p. 35) This includes educated blacks, which goes against the general principle that as education rises, anti-Semitic feelings decline. However, the Nation of Islam and other black leaders have focused on college campuses for their crusades promoting communal pride, spiritual uplift, and political mobilization. These leaders, like many before them, often attempt to galvanize their listeners by providing a common enemy, often the Jews.

While the Nation of Islam is sometimes considered a fringe group, negative images of Jews can be found throughout the black community.

A survey of the opinions of black state senators toward Jews conducted between 1985 and 1986 yielded many typical Jewish stereotypes such as, "Jews own the banks." (Cohen, 1988, p. 26) That attitudes like this are found by such high-ranking black officials may indicate that negative Jewish stereotypes are an accepted part of life and may help to explain why groups portraying the Jew as an enemy are often successful in attracting followers.

The white supremacist movement, however, seems to be the greatest source of anti-Semitism in the United States at this time. New far-right groups based in part on the belief that more radical, revolutionary measures are required to rid the white race of its enemies have garnered support through a variety of tactics designed to attract a radical following. Groups like the Populist Party, the White Aryan Resistance, and members of the skinhead movement, often associated with the Church of the Creator and its plans for RAHOWA, an acronym for Racial Holy War, began to preach white supremacy and continued to portray the Jew as an enemy of America.

The White Aryan Resistance merges a negative religious stereotype with Nazi social doctrine to show Jews as the head of the conspiracy "to weaken White Aryan America through the process of supporting integration, gay rights, the Women's Movement, and other objectives on the liberal agenda." (Fischel, 1995, p. 226) Race mixing is portrayed as the greatest threat to America's survival.

Many of these groups base their strategies of violence on a book, which has become the bible of the neo-Nazi movement, The Turner Diaries. The Turner Diaries, written by William Pierce in 1978 under the pseudonym Andrew McDonald, tells the story of the armed overthrow of the United States government by a group of white supremacists. One portion of the novel describes "The Day of the Rope," during which Jews and race traitors are lynched. Pierce is now the leader of the National Alliance, based out of his secluded home in West Virginia. The mission of the Alliance is "a thorough rooting out of Semitic and other non-Aryan values and customs everywhere and the creation in North America and Western Europe of a racially clean area of the earth for the further development of our people." (Mollins, 1995, p. 42) Pierce predicts that the current antiterrorism efforts of the United States government will provoke more terrorism, fueling the ultimate collapse of the present social system to make way for his ideal white state.

That Turner's message is taken seriously is displayed in Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right, a non-fiction work by Chicago Tribune writer James Coates. The book describes how a group called the Order followed the lessons of The Turner Diaries to commit crimes from which they were able to funnel hundreds of thousands of dollars to other far-right groups to buy land, guns, vehicles, and other instruments of terrorism (Coates, 1987).

A more subtle tactic employed by these new hate groups has been Holocaust denial. By appealing primarily to the imagination and

emotions of listeners, Holocaust deniers have been able to convince many members of the public that the generally accepted historical view of the Holocaust is a lie concocted as part of the Jewish conspiracy. Holocaust deniers claim that the Nazis never had a program or policy to exterminate Jews, that the gas chambers were not used for the purpose of murdering Jews, and that at a maximum, 200,000, not 6 million, Jews were killed during World War II (Volovici, 1994).

By spreading a message of white power, presenting the enemy as Jews and other inferior races, and appealing to a fringe element in society, the white supremacist movement has managed to make marginal gains in the United States. How large this movement is and how strongly its members believe in its dogma is difficult to assess. Members often register under pseudonyms when joining groups like the National Alliance, and other groups like the emerging militia movement often deny having any anti-Semitic leanings despite being filled with known members of various white power movements (Volovici, 1994).

That anti-Semitism continues to exist in the United States cannot be denied. How serious the problem is or how pervasive anti-Jewish sentiments really are, is difficult to gauge. Many individuals would argue that anti-Semitism is confined to the right wing fringe. However, 83 percent of Jews responding to the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey either "strongly" or "somewhat" agreed that anti-Semitism is a serious problem in the United States. (Chanes, 1995, p. 4) This

represented an increase of more than 30 percent from 1983. Obviously, the Jewish community views anti-Semitism as a major problem.

Yet, while many radical elements of society seem bent on creating a pure white state or a stronger black nation, anti-Semitism in the United States seems to be on the decline. While a 1992 ADL poll found that 20 percent of Americans are strongly anti-Semitic, this was down from 29 percent reported in a 1964 study. (Chanes, 1995, p. 12) Also, as Chanes points out, data exist to prove that at any given time, 20 percent of any one group hates any other group. Again we see that America's broad spectrum of ethnic and social groups, while often at odds with each other, can serve to deflect the brunt of hatred from one specific group by spreading the loathing over many potential enemies. And while militant fringes will probably always exist to spread a message of hate, the intermingling of groups over time should serve to lessen the negative views of the majority of society.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN REGARD TO ANTI-SEMITISM

By 1960 the ADL (Anti-Defamation League) leaders had begun to feel that violence against Jewish persons and property had become a thing of the past. Their attention was directed toward more subtle problems, such as discrimination against Jews by social clubs, schools, and industry. The Swastika incidents of 1960 came as a stunning and grievous contradiction of their hopes. Consequently, the ADL decided to commission a new social science investigation of the enduring phenomenon of anti-Semitism in the United States. The ADL commissioned the Survey Research Center of the University of California at Berkeley to do a study of Anti-Semitism in the United States. This study, lead by Charles Glock and Rodney Stark, was (and still is) the largest study of its kind. Glock and Stark found that Religious orthodoxy and particularism are two of the concepts in religious anti-Semitism. The commitment to an orthodox Christian theology strongly implies a particularistic image of being God's Chosen People, singularly qualified

for eternal salvation. A consequence of the view of one's own group is an invidious contrast with all religious "outsiders" (Glock and Stark, 1966). Furthermore Glock and Stark found that most Christians acknowledged their mutual roots with Judaism, although a minority Christianized such major Old Testament figures as Moses, David, and Solomon. These church members overwhelmingly supported Christian traditions concerning the Crucifixion: Pilate opposed the Crucifixion, but was overruled by the Jewish multitude; hence the Jews were the group "most responsible for crucifying Christ" (Glock and Stark, 1966). Hostile religious images of the modern Jew as Christ-killer, beyond salvation, and in need of conversion to Christianity are still prevalent in Christian churches. Among conservatives such as the Missouri Lutherans and Southern Baptists, such attitudes toward Jews are almost unanimous. The conservatives are also the most particularistic and orthodox respondents in Glock and Stark's study (Glock and Stark, 1966). The study showed that orthodox Christian beliefs can be traced through the process, which leads to a particularistic outlook, which ultimately comes to impose a hostile religious definition on modern Jews. Contemptuous religious images of Jews predisposes Christians to embrace a purely secular variety of anti-Semitism as well. Glock and Stark further found

that approximately 80 per cent of these church members held some explicitly negative beliefs about Jews as a group, and nearly half acknowledged they bore unfriendly feelings toward Jews because of their beliefs. Not only is anti-Semitism very characteristic of Christian church members, but all of these aspects of anti-Semitism were found to be strongly correlated with Glock and Stark's model of the religious sources of anti-Semitism.

The following are the findings of Russell Middleton from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He completed his study on anti-Semitism in the 70's and examined earlier studies by Glock and Stark. Middleton states that "in light of the strong emphasis on brotherhood in Christian ethics, it is a paradox that many studies have found that those Americans who are more religious also tend to be more prejudiced against racial and ethnic minorities." (Middleton, 1973) Middleton focuses on whether certain religious beliefs "cause" anti-Semitism among Christians in the United States today.

Historians have made a convincing case that the Christian church was largely responsible for the development of anti-Semitism in ancient and medieval times (Parkes, 1934, 1962, 1963; Isaac, 1956, 1964; Simon, 1948; Trachtenberg, 1943). The evidence suggests that economic

and other social factors were of relatively minor significance. It was the theological picture of the Jew created in the New Testament, in the patristic literature, and subsequent teachings of the church that unleashed the virulent hatred and persecution of Jews in the western world (Middleton, 1973). If we agree that certain teachings of the Christian church have played a causal role in anti-Semitism in earlier times, does this still hold true today? Most empirical studies of the relationship of religiosity and anti-Semitism do show that those who are more religious tend to be more highly prejudiced against Jews.

Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950) in a study of 150 male army veterans in Chicago found no significant difference between those with and without religious affiliations. Blum and Mann (1960) found that college students who belonged to religious clubs were more anti-Semitic than those who did not. I found that in a study conducted by Parry (1949), that nonchurch-going Protestants are more anti-Semitic than church-going Protestants.

According to Middleton (1973) one can not establish firmly what the relationship of various dimensions of religiosity to anti-Semitism is. The most common view is that the relationship is spurious – that religiosity and prejudice are common consequences of some third factor

or set of factors. Dittes (1969:633) suggests that education and class differences may account for much of the correlation between prejudice and religion. Others suggest that it is a particular cognitive style, authoritarianism, or other psychodynamic personality factors which lead an individual to be both anti-Semitic and highly religious (e.g., Argyle, 1958: 91-2; Allport, 1966:451; Levinson, 1967:1012; Greeley, 1967:1009).

Bettelheim and Janowitz have also expressed the view that in modern times religious appeals as a basis for persecuting the Jews have generally fallen flat. In their own study of Chicago veterans they found references to religion almost totally absent when individuals gave reasons for disliking Jews (Bettelheim and Janowitz, 1950:166). On the other hand, Rose (1963:21-2) believed that ancient differences in theological conceptions profoundly influence contemporary images of Jews. He recalled that as a boy he was beaten up by some Catholic neighbor children on the sole excuse that "You killed Our Lord."

Glock and Stark (1966:132) believe that orthodoxy, particularism, religious hostility toward the historic Jew, and religious libertarianism do not have a direct effect on secular anti-Semitism. Their effect is

expressed only indirectly through the intervening variable of religious hostility toward modern Jews.

Glock and Stark present a number of tables showing relationships, which are consistent with parts of their theoretical model. For the most important part of the analysis, however, they use composite indices, which combine several measures of individual variables. They show that religious dogmatism (a composite index of orthodoxy, particularism, implication of the historic Jew in the Crucifixion, and religious anti-libertarianism) is positively associated with religious hostility toward modern Jews and with secular anti-Semitism, even when religious dogmatism is controlled. Finally, religious bigotry (a composite index of religious dogmatism and religious hostility toward modern Jews) is associated with anti-Semitic beliefs and feelings and with a propensity to engage in anti-Semitic actions (Middleton, 1973:36).

From their study Glock and Stark drew the following conclusions:

Conservatively, these findings would suggest that at least one-fourth of America's anti-Semites have a religious basis for their prejudice, while nearly another fifth have this religious basis in considerable part. . . .An impressive proportion no less than a fourth of American anti-Semitism is attached to religious sources. . . .Far from being trivial, religious outlooks and religious images of the modern Jew seem to lie at the root of the anti-Semitism of millions of American adults (Glock and Stark, 1966:205).

The data Middleton analyzed came from a nationwide survey on anti-Semitism among adults in the United States carried out by the NORC (National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago) in October, 1964. This study contained questions on many social psychological variables not previously included in surveys. The data analyzed were from 1,852 individuals who identified themselves as Protestants or Catholics. Middleton used the techniques of correlation, multiple regression, and path analysis to test the Glock and Stark theory (Middleton, 1973: 38-9). In order to measure the basic dependent variable, secular anti-Semitism, Middleton used the eleven-item anti-Semitism scale of Selznick and Steinberg (1969:22). The scale measures acceptance of certain traditional stereotyped beliefs about Jews.

Middleton found that there is a lack of any correlation between religious orthodoxy and secular anti-Semitism. This is in direct contrast with Glock and Stark's (1966:209) argument that orthodoxy is the source of the whole anti-Semitic syndrome and that without its orthodox base, the whole structure would collapse. The evidence from the NORC study, however, indicates that there is no basis for anti-Semitism in orthodoxy (Middleton, 1973:41).

In the end, Middleton (1973:50) concludes that the most important determinants of secular anti-Semitism in his research are authoritarianism and anomie. He feels that merely altering the religious teachings regarding Jewish culpability and Jewish damnation is not likely to have a major effect on anti-Semitism, since the wellsprings of anti-Semitism today are largely secular.

At this point it is important to add that Glock and Stark confronted their findings empirically with a series of possible counter-explanations in order to either eliminate or to explore them. During the course of the study education, occupational prestige, income, rural-urban origins, age, politics, and sex have all been definitely disproved as possible alternative explanations of their findings.

I think that Glock and Stark, as well as Middleton show valid explanations for anti-Semitism, and that their findings in many ways compliment each other, rather than “disprove” each others work. The role of religion in anti-Semitism is still an extremely important part in today’s anti-Semitism.

CHAPTER IV

FACTORS IN THE RESURGENCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Explanation for the phenomenon of anti-Semitism can be found in abundance in the psychological, historical and social literature. They are mainly variations on perceptions of an ethnic minority that fulfills the role of a “scapegoat” when the majority society is undergoing some crisis or distress. Katz (1983) argues, while stresses and crisis can provide an opportunity for outbursts of anti-Semitism, they are not the cause of antisemitism. After all of my literature reviews, I still do not have an answer to the question of why a crisis in the majority society must bring about damage and injury for Jews, and not necessarily for other minorities.

THE EXTREME RIGHT IN WESTERN EUROPE

Since 1984, the extreme Right has made a prominent reappearance in West European political life. Various countries' electoral results, while definitely not indicative of a devastating landslide, are nevertheless sufficient to worry observers (Epstein, 1996).

The 1984-1995 wave of the extreme Right has been accompanied by an outbreak of anti-Jewish violence on a level higher than that of the 1959-1960 swastika epidemic (Caplovitz and Rogers describe in their book how on Christmas Eve, a gang of German youths desecrated a Jewish synagogue in Cologne. Their crudely smeared swastikas forced humane men everywhere to face the rude fact that anti-Semitism had not perished with the Third Reich. Within days of the Cologne incident was repeated in many other German cities, This wave spread beyond Germany, then beyond Europe to the United States. By March 1960 two months after the first German incident, at least 643 similar incidents had occurred in the United States alone.). and the wave of the end of late 1970s into the early 1980s. In the early 1990s, therefore, a high level of anti-Jewish incidents coincided with an electoral resurgence of the extreme Right. This time the two indicators of anti-Semitism (violence and electoral results) reacted in unison, detecting the most serious anti-Jewish upheaval that Western Europe had seen since 1945 (Epstein, 1996).

The extreme Right's chances of success depend on the electoral system in a particular country. Proportional representation benefits the Austrians were Haider , a well-known anti-Semite was recently elected

into congress. The Germans are hampered by the 5% threshold, which limits their room to maneuver quite a bit. In France the extreme right suffers from the majority based electoral system, which makes the election of Right-wingers somewhat more difficult. In the case of Germany, we have to look back to the mid-1960s in order to come across a significant extreme right-wing upsurge. In 1964, Fritz Thielen and Adolf von Thadden set up the NPD (Nationale Partei Deutschlands), and developed a neo-Nazi propaganda that combined anti-Communism. In the September 1965 general elections it polled 2% of the vote. In November 1966 it won 7.9% in Hessen and 7.4% in Bavaria. It polled 6.9% in the Rhineland in 1967, and 9.8% in Baden-Wuerttemberg in 1968. At this stage, the NPD was making continued gains (Von Beyme, 1982). The German government opted not to ban the extreme right party because it was felt that by doing so, the system's democratic process would be undermined. The alarming factor in this is the fact that these electoral results were achieved in an almost complete freedom of expression due to the democratic principles. With the resurgent vitality it (the Extreme Right) has demonstrated that continued gains based on political and economic developments are in our future.

FARRAKHAN

It is troubling that so many people listen to Farrakhan. While most of his audience is black, Jews listen, too, and with an almost compulsive fascination, making it unclear which group has the more intimate relationship with Farrakhan (Lester, 1994). Farrakhan has the distinct ability to confirm and affirm identity for both blacks and Jews. They are mesmerized by what are, in essence, nothing more than a combination of simplistic nationalist ravings, angry harangues, crude anti-Semitic diatribes, and historical ignorance.

Two illusionary ideas must be addressed here: first, that the black anti-Semitism of the past two decades is new, and second, that blacks and Jews share a common oppression. According to Lester (1994), the black-Jewish coalition of the civil rights era is put forth as the shining paradigm of what was and what could be again “if only”. While the alliance was significant, it never represented the only relationship between blacks and Jews. The black-Jewish coalition was between the elite of both peoples. At the grass root levels, however, there was never an alliance. Black anti-Semitism has deep roots, as shown in the following tale from Zora Neale Hurston’s (1995) introduction to her classic collection Mules and Men

When God created people, He didn't give them their souls. God knew that the soul was very powerful and he wanted to wait until people were strong enough to hold their souls in their bodies. God kept the soul beneath the skirts of his garment and one day, a white man walked past God and just as he did, a little breeze lifted up the hem of God's skirt and some light from the soul streamed out and it was so bright that the white man got scared and ran away. Next day, a black man walked past God and he got curious about the soul, so went over and tried to peak under God's skirt and the light and warmth from the soul was so powerful that it knocked him over and he ran away. A few days later along came the Jew. He was walking past God when a big wind came and lifted up God's skirt. The Jew saw the soul gleaming brightly and streaming with lights of many colors and he ran and grabbed the soul. Well, the soul was so powerful that it knocked the Jew down and rolled him over and over on the ground. But the Jew wouldn't let go. That soul knocked him back up in the sky and back down on the ground, but the Jew still would not let go. The Jew hugged the soul so hard that it broke into a lot of little pieces. The white man and the black man came and picked up the little pieces and put them inside, and that is how man got his soul. But one of these days, God is going to make the Jew divide that soul up fair so everybody gets equal amounts.

The tale is a black folk response of Jews as the Chosen People.

Just as Christians and Muslims asserted their election to supplant Jews and God's NEW chosen people, Louis Farrakhan (New York Times, June 29, 1984).states the following:

"This I want the Jews to know and we want the world to know: that they are not the chosen people of God....

The Holy Koran charges the Jews with taking the message and giving the people a book written by their own hands, saying that the book is from God.... The Jews...fed a corrupted light through this book and were the fathers of false religions and false religious practices. They cannot be considered the friend of God, doing such evil.

I am not anti-Jew, I am pro-Truth, but in this serious hour, the truth must be told so that the true people of God may come up into view of the entire world. These that have stolen our identity, these that have dressed themselves up in our garments must be defrocked today, that the world may see who are the true chosen people of Almighty God"

Farrakhan's agenda is not only political: it is theological (questions of identity often are). Statements condemning Farrakhan have not only been ineffective, but have increased his credibility amongst blacks.

Moral appeals are only effective when speaker and listener belong to the same "moral community," Laurence Thomas notes in his book, Vessels of Evil: American Slavery and the Holocaust. Thomas observes that "the moral expectations... people have of both themselves and others...are generally tied to the consensus of the moral community in which they live and with which they identify."

During the civil rights era the black-Jewish coalition succeeded because they shared a vision of racial integration and equal opportunity. Today the black-Jewish conflicts are not so much about blacks and Jews, but about struggles between radically different moral communities for possession of God's soul.

It is remarkable that the Jews opted to stand up for the oppressed during the civil rights era, and the integrity of their actions is not at question here. Some say that the motivations of the Jews were not as pure as some today would like to think, but it still clearly shows that genuine empathy mixed with some self-interest motivated the alliance.

Jews also felt upset and bitter about American anti-Semitism. The black experience became extremely personal to the Jews, and they saw themselves as the “cultural bridges between the white and black worlds because they understood both” (Lester, 1994).

Today, it seems that the blacks see the Jews as white because in a white society, white skin is an advantage, even if you are a Jew.

Farrakhan astutely points out that Jewish success cannot be attributed only to skin color, or education and hard work, but that the Jews know who they are, they know their origin in the world, they know their history. He further states that...” the black has been deprived of such knowledge” (Farrakhan, 1993).

According to Lester (1994) the black-Jewish alliance was doomed to implode because the specific elements of shared oppression were never as great as the differences. No difference is more profound than Jewish certainty about the Jew’s place in history and before God. Regardless of how an individual Jew may feel about being a Jew, the solidity of Jewish history, culture and religion are incontrovertible. It is the very absence of confidence among African Americans in the solidity of life itself that marks the gulf between black and Jews.

Lester (1994) expands on Orlando Patterson's concept of "natal alienation." This is the condition that results when "the social practices" of a society "forcibly prevent" members of an ethnic group "from fully participating in and thus having a secure knowledge of their historical-cultural traditions," as well as being denied "full membership in the society." The alienation is total because the group has "neither equality nor their historical-cultural traditions." Blacks of every economic class and educational level respond to Farrakhan because he makes visible the natal alienation all blacks know.

People who suffer from natal alienation are "without a narrative" or "set of narratives that defines values and positive goals, the narratives of a people define their conception of the good."

Much anti-Semitism among blacks may be an expression of envy of the Jewish narrative, and the painful longing for a healing narrative of their own. Farrakhan's narrative strategy is devaluation of Jews, because if one lacks a narrative that gives a definition of the good, a narrative, which at least gives a definition of evil, is preferable to no narrative at all (Lester, 1994).

The Jewish sense of moral community wants blacks to condemn Farrakhan's anti-Semitism, but the black sense of moral community,

particularly among the young, needs the moral autonomy that comes when a community chooses its own leader. The power to choose one's own leaders is a greater moral imperative for blacks than repudiating anti-Semitism. The fact that so many blacks listen and respond to Farrakhan indicates a frightening nihilism rampant in black America (Lester, 1994). Farrakhan fills the void with a narrative of anti-Semitism, historical lies, and appeals to black superiority. If Farrakhan's sympathizers would only realize that their active and passive support for him creates a climate that permits whites to be as publicly hateful of blacks as Farrakhan is of Jews. Any infatuation with anti-Semitism among blacks can only result in more virile anti-black racism.

CHAPTER V

ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the middle of November 1992, the Anti-Defamation League released a study of prejudice in America. The first comprehensive, nationwide survey of its kind since 1981, it found that one in five American adults – nearly 40 million people – holds anti-Semitic beliefs (ADL, 1992). The salient finding of the ADL study is that anti-Semitism has a new character and a new set of rules. In the past, American anti-Semitism was essentially a social disease, a prejudice that found its expression in predictable forms – not wanting to live next door to a Jew, work with a Jew, marry a Jew, and so on (ASL, 1992). But now, according to the studies, the number of people with these feelings is negligible. Anti-Jewish attitudes have instead become more insidious, resembling the anti-Semitism that was prevalent in Europe in the first part of the last century. The charges: Jews have too much power and are more loyal to Israel than to America (Horowitz, 1993).

Norman Podheretz, the editor-in-chief of Commentary and a leading neoconservative intellectual, points out that these feelings have been “percolating in the culture” for more than twenty years. “The idea that Jews in America have too much power first arose in the late sixties. It was associated with the idea that justice is a proportional distribution of the goods of this world, in accordance with the size of the group an individual belongs to. Quotas is what it came down to. It was then that this notion arose that Jews, who were 2.5 or 3 percent of the population, were getting more than their fair share” (Podheretz, 1992).

What the recent studies don’t explain – perhaps because there is no cogent explanation – is the enduring nature of anti-Semitism. It is hard to understand that the Anti-Defamation League study finds that contact with Jews does not affect the anti-Semitic beliefs of respondents (Horowitz, 1993). In his recently published book Anti-Semitism: The Longest Hatred, historian Robert Wistrich (1992) writes, “Free-floating anti-Semitism, for which the actual presence of Jews is almost immaterial, thrives on archetypal fears, anxieties and reflexes that seem to defy any rational analysis.”

What also defies rational analysis is the degree to which expressions of hate and intolerance have become acceptable. In pop

culture – rap music and heavy metal in particular – hostility toward Jews, blacks, gays, women, and virtually anyone who is not like “us” routinely goes unremarked upon (Baggett, 1993).

In the political season of 1992 we heard amazing remarks, made directly to appeal to the voter’s primal instincts. What did Republican national chairman mean when he said of the Democrats, “They are not America”? What was Democratic presidential candidate Jerry Brown thinking about when he stood outside the New York Stock Exchange in April 1992 and said as reported in The New Republic that he would “drive the moneylenders out of the temple”? Or former Secretary of State James Backer, who, when asked at a meeting of high-level administration officials about his hostility toward Israel, said, “F--- the Jews. They didn’t vote for us anyway”? (Sassoon Center, 2000)

Vice-President Quale made his contribution with his now-infamous frontal attack on the “cultural elite.” Quale’s tone as much as his phrasing made many people uncomfortable, clearly echoing the populist anti-Semitic rhetoric that began in the thirties and would wrap Hollywood, Jews, and Communism into a neat little anti-American package. To many people “cultural elite” is only a euphemism for “Jewish elite”. One of President Clinton’s fund-raising dinners was

opened with the following statement: “We can drop the Republican code for ‘cultural elite’. Good evening, fellow Jews.” (Sassoon Center,2000)

One must not forget the vexing case of Pat Buchanan who in the past has always cloaked his anti-Semitic beliefs in the cloth of mainstream politics. With his recent departure from the Republican Party, I believe that his restraints are rapidly eroding, and will result in some open expression of hostility toward Jews.

In June of 1999 seventy scholars convened at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem to discuss “Dynamics of Anti-Semitism in the Second Half of the 20th Century.” Over forty papers were presented and discussed. The conference papers demonstrated the importance of reexamining “classical” issues in the study of anti-Semitism, such as its definition and the proper use of the term in the second half of the twentieth century, the role of prejudice and traditional images of Jews in different countries and social groups in Europe, and in comparison in the United States (Ofer, 1999). The introduction of new comparisons within the Eastern bloc and a synthetic approach that incorporated the new national goals and identities contributes to the understanding of how important the East European politicians and elite are when looking

at the central role of the Jews in the political, social and cultural life of Western countries (Ofer, 1999).

Also important for understanding the dynamics of anti-Semitism is the analysis that linked old and new anti-Semitic approaches to the reconstruction and emergence of new regimes in Europe after the Second World War, during the Cold War era. During Germany's postwar period of denazification and democratization it became apparent that the traditional anti-Jewish image merged with the new reality of a defeated, destroyed, war-stricken country. Despite the legal ban on anti-Semitic expression, the reestablishment of the Jewish communities and the presence of Jews in the camps brought out traditional and Nazi anti-Semitic stereotypes. The fate of the Jews during the war was an unspoken but still burdensome element in the self-understanding for both East and West Germans (Ofer, 1999).

In the Communist countries, popular anti-Semitism was banned, although the regimes launched a number of anti-Jewish assaults such as the "Doctor's Plot" in early 1953 (Jews were targeted and violently assaulted), and the campaign against economic crimes in the late 1960s (Ofer, 1999). Almost a decade after the fall of Communism and with the availability of archival sources, scholars can begin to appreciate the

impact of both the repression of popular anti-Jewish feeling and the official ban on anti-Semitic expression. Following the breakup of the Communist regimes, the new freedom of expression enabled extreme anti-Semites to establish fresh avenues for their propaganda (Ofer, 1999). Their discourse was reinvigorated by promoting the image of “Judeo-Communism” rooted in East European countries in the aftermath of World War Two, and, prior to that, in the anti-Bolshevik rhetoric that flourished in the United States and Western Europe during and after the Russian Revolution (Almog, 1999).

The importance of acknowledging ambivalent – rather than strictly anti-Semitic – attitudes toward Jews is evident when discussing the various and often conflicting effects of political and economic factors on the situation of the Jews in Eastern Europe, as opposed to their prominent and accepted roles in the Western democracies. It also seems to me that the “Jewish Question” – an almost universally used term in the discourse of the first half of the 20th century – has almost, but not quite, disappeared.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

When I ask myself the question, does anti-Semitism have a future? The answer has to be “yes” for the following reasons. Anti-Semitism is one of the fundamental expressions of human baseness and perversity, not to say depravity. I know this is not the only expression of human depravity – racism, ethnic hatred, and many other abominations I might list could be placed in this category. But it is the manifestation of human baseness that concerns the Jews over the long haul, perhaps more than any other.

It must be recognized that anti-Semitism today is indeed more diffused, more fragmented, and more difficult to define. Its contours and boundaries are less clear than they used to be. The status of Jews in the world has improved with time, but there is still some reluctance, maybe because a feeling of guilt, to discuss their faults in public. I think there is still a tremendous amount of Jewish resentment that has become hidden behind the "politically correct" attitude toward the Jewish people. For the most part we are no longer dealing with classical anti-Semitism,

or with the anti-Semitism of the Nazi era. I found many important national differences. The United States is not Britain, as far as Jews or Judaism is concerned. Britain is not France; France is not Germany; Germany is not Poland; Poland is not Russia: and Russia is not the Middle East. All of the situations in each of those countries and regions are different for Jews.

During my studies it has become obvious that anti-Jewishness is a protean phenomenon, extremely elusive when it comes to its definition. Oddly enough, anti-Semitism today can thrive where no Jews have ever lived. I believe that anti-Semitism is actually a lot about anti-Semites and the way they see themselves in relation to the Jews. Unfortunately, this affects the Jews palpably and viscerally.

We must also look at the strength or weakness of the anti-Semites at any given time, or in any given place. Are they shunned, are they marginalized, or are they respected, tolerated, or even encouraged? This seems to me to be an often-crucial dimension. This is one of the differences between the Western world and Eastern Europe. It also seems clear from the literature review, that the Jew, although he or she may no longer be the primary target of xenophobia or racism, remains the gauge for understanding the dynamics of prejudice in modern society

as a whole. The conspiracy theories without which anti-Semitism could not flourish in the modern era will continue to thrive in the twenty-first century and see the Jews implicated (once again or still). The politicization of anti-Semitism ebbs and flows with no complete disappearance in sight. There are several angles we must look at when discussing anti-Semitism. The role of prejudice and traditional images of Jews in different countries and social groups in Europe and the United States are important. The reproduction and spread of anti-Semitic motifs in Europe are found mainly in political discourse. The political climate and the economic conditions in the countries play a major role as to how strong the anti-Semitic feeling is at any given time. With right wing politics emerging strongly and rapidly, as well as the economic recession in some European countries, the Jews once again make the perfect scapegoats. Intellectual circles sometimes explain the dissemination of anti-Semitism as due to the post communist moral and economic dissolution.

The irrationality of the religiously motivated anti-Semitism is also on the rise. However, based on the current literature, I found this to be most obvious in the United States. Christian iconography functioned for centuries as a more or less fanatic “mass media” propaganda, which for

two thousand years constantly emphasized the image of crucifixion as an example and proof of the inextinguishable Jewish guilt. Christians believe that the Jews were responsible for the death of Christ, and should therefore continue to suffer divine punishment for their actions. Farrakhan on the other hand goes to another extreme. In his teachings under the “New Islamic Nation”, he claims that the Jews are stealing the blacks identities as the “Chosen People”. I think that the religious teachings regarding Jewish culpability have a major effect on secular anti-Semitism as well. The various right wing, neo-Nazi groups follow an extremist religious doctrine that justifies violent anti-Semitic behavior. Adherents are actively spreading the anti-Jewish message on both the religious and the secular circles.

Directions for Future Research

According to some of the mentioned literature the direction research needs to take is greater exploration of the dynamics of global anti-Semitism. In that regard, this study has attempted just that. The major problems I encountered were the massive amounts of fragmented information on the subject. In the future, I would like to see an international study on religious and secular anti-Semitism.

Given the recent growth of the global Internet capabilities, it would be of particular interest to see how this technology is being used to further communicate anti-Semitic beliefs.

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